

# Kent Academic Repository

## Full text document (pdf)

### Citation for published version

Rokem, Jonathan (2011) What Does Green Really Mean? Towards Reframing Jerusalem's Planning Policy. In: Critical Cities: v. 2. Myrdle Court Press.

### DOI

### Link to record in KAR

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/92029/>

### Document Version

Publisher pdf

#### Copyright & reuse

Content in the Kent Academic Repository is made available for research purposes. Unless otherwise stated all content is protected by copyright and in the absence of an open licence (eg Creative Commons), permissions for further reuse of content should be sought from the publisher, author or other copyright holder.

#### Versions of research

The version in the Kent Academic Repository may differ from the final published version.

Users are advised to check <http://kar.kent.ac.uk> for the status of the paper. **Users should always cite the published version of record.**

#### Enquiries

For any further enquiries regarding the licence status of this document, please contact:

[researchsupport@kent.ac.uk](mailto:researchsupport@kent.ac.uk)

If you believe this document infringes copyright then please contact the KAR admin team with the take-down information provided at <http://kar.kent.ac.uk/contact.html>

# What Does Green Really Mean?

*Towards Reframing Jerusalem's Planning Policy*

---

JONATHAN ROKEM

Several factors differentiate Jerusalem from other cities: firstly, being an important religious centre for three of the world's central monotheistic religions; and secondly, being claimed as national capital by two contenders, placing it in the vortex of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The multidimensional nature of its divisions places Jerusalem in a uniquely difficult and symbolic situation when attempting to resolve its internal and external tensions. Below the widely debated geopolitical and historical arguments lie more concealed levels of tensions imbedded in daily practices. Similar to most other cities, the socio–political context manifests itself in the urban form. However, unlike other cities, planning policy is geared to cater for one part of the population, with sharp differences in the levels of investment in urban infrastructure and the public realm.

Planning policy is a major tool determining development outcomes and shaping the built environment. It is commonly used in an attempt to build better places and promote sustainable communities and development. However, in some extreme cases, the struggle over land ownership and use has taken precedence. This is especially evident in the Middle East and

particularly in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The extensive media coverage of the geopolitical conflict places the region under the constant watchful eye of the international community; however, it rarely looks at the underlying conditions for the emergence of these turbulent circumstances.<sup>1</sup> This essay affirms that planning policy has a fundamental impact on the positive social and spatial development of urban areas, while on the other hand, in some extreme circumstances – as the case of Jerusalem reveals – it may produce different conditions.

## **Policy analysis and project overview**

*The Israeli 'place' is a product of a contested socio–historical process, characterized by motivation for controlling national space and framing it in a total [colonial] manner. Such a decisive approach generates counter–products which are also spatially expressed.<sup>2</sup>*

The prevailing Israeli policy has been to 'reunify' Jerusalem, while the Palestinian population sees the integration of East Jerusalem as illegal 'annexation'. The one–sided management of the city has also meant that economic development and services have nearly entirely been geared towards the needs and aspirations of the city's Jewish population.<sup>3</sup> For example, in 2003 only 13% of the city's total planning budget was invested in East Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> The area of East Jerusalem comprises 37% of the city's jurisdiction; rationally it should receive around 37% of the city's total planning budget. However, conditions in East Jerusalem, given its eroded infrastructure level, are inferior to those of the western part of the city to begin with, hence it ought to be allocated a far higher percentage of the budget than its relative proportion in the city.<sup>5</sup> Under the circumstances, the unequal funding of urban planning and construction projects means Jerusalem is developing into two distinct growth poles, with the crossover parts and old border areas remaining mainly as division points between the two sides of the city.

Over the years, there have been several proposals attempting to solve the 'final' status of Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> Since the city became an international political problem, about six decades ago, no fewer than 40 plans for 'ultimate solutions' have been officially presented in international political circles.<sup>7</sup> This trend continues producing a vast body of literature<sup>8</sup> specifically analysing and proposing possible resolutions. However, most of these proposals start from the end of the process by suggesting an overall master plan for the city. In this essay the contrary is put forward – a bottom-up and micro-political process. In the present political atmosphere, limited numbers of decision-makers on both sides are open to genuinely debate Jerusalem. The building of an active civil society that can take its future into its own hands is crucial to facilitate activity on the ground. Consequently the following project's main aim is to reveal a joint positive voice from civil society groups interested in shifting the current conditions.

During the last few years planning restrictions and housing demolitions in East Jerusalem Palestinian neighbourhoods have increased.<sup>9</sup> This trend persists with a growing number of Jewish neighbourhoods built in the midst of Palestinian areas, causing a growing tension and mistrust among the local population, with an increasing risk of erupting into a full-scale third 'Intifadah' (civil uprising). The 'current conditions' in Jerusalem have intensified over recent months. On the one hand, government-led policy is planning and constructing Jewish houses in the core of Arab neighbourhoods, and on the other hand, there is a growing government threat to demolish several 'illegal' Palestinian houses in East Jerusalem. Moreover, the implications of planning and building in East Jerusalem are a major threat to the fragile peace talks currently underway. The United States has requested a freeze on all new construction for Jews in East Jerusalem, resulting in major tension between Israel's right-wing Netanyahu government and the Obama administration. The difficult geopolitical reality has led to less hope on the national political level and to placing more focus on the role of civil society in shifting the current conditions on the ground.

Over the past two years I have been involved in a project with the Jerusalem Policy Forum (JPF), which is jointly managed and funded by the Peace and Democracy Forum, a Palestinian NGO, and the Israeli NGO, Ir Amim. The project's overall declared aim is "leading from dissonance to a permanent status destination creating policy options to pave the way to final status in Jerusalem".<sup>10</sup> As part of the project a handful of leading Palestinian and Israeli expert groups were brought together, in fields ranging from education and economy to the environment and urban planning. Each group worked to find solutions for some of Jerusalem's most burning issues. The different expert groups put together a list of the most burning issues in need of immediate attention for the Palestinian communities of East Jerusalem. For example, the environmental group focused on waste collection and disposal, currently very minimal and causing severe health hazards. The education group focused on the lack of educational facilities, and the economy group looked at new ways to regenerate East Jerusalem's tourist trade. I was part of the urban planning team whose work and recommendations are the focus of this essay.

The different expert groups are meant to create a web of possible options for a better reality in Jerusalem. The future aim of the groups is to facilitate the building of expert and political bodies that would produce institutional networks and to merge them into a future governance system for East Jerusalem. The planning policy of the new East Jerusalem planning administration is intended to cater for the needs of the currently underprovided and marginalised Palestinian community. I will first describe the magnitude of the problem to try to convey the levels of tension in the city, and then explain some possible interventions put forward by the members of the JPF planning group in our final report.<sup>11</sup>

### **The 'green' problem**

Planning and development have a strong attachment to political interests and forces.<sup>12</sup> This is even more so in the case of Jerusalem, where nearly

all central places bear contested historical meaning and religious significance. In Jerusalem, Israel has annexed a total area of 71,000 dunams (71 square kilometres or approximately 18,000 acres). Of this, prior to 1967, 6,500 dunams belonged to the East Jerusalem municipality (Jerusalem under Jordanian Rule) including the Old City (see map, fig 1) and the rest was taken from the jurisdictions of 28 Palestinian villages surrounding the city. As a result of the 1967 annexation, the new municipal boundaries tripled in size, from 38 square kilometres to 109 square kilometres. The area of the enlarged Jerusalem municipality was increased again in May 1993 to cover 126 square kilometres (126,400 dunams or approximately 32,000 acres).

In the majority of urban plans around the world, 'green' is used to identify positive aspects, marking space for parks and recreation grounds benefiting

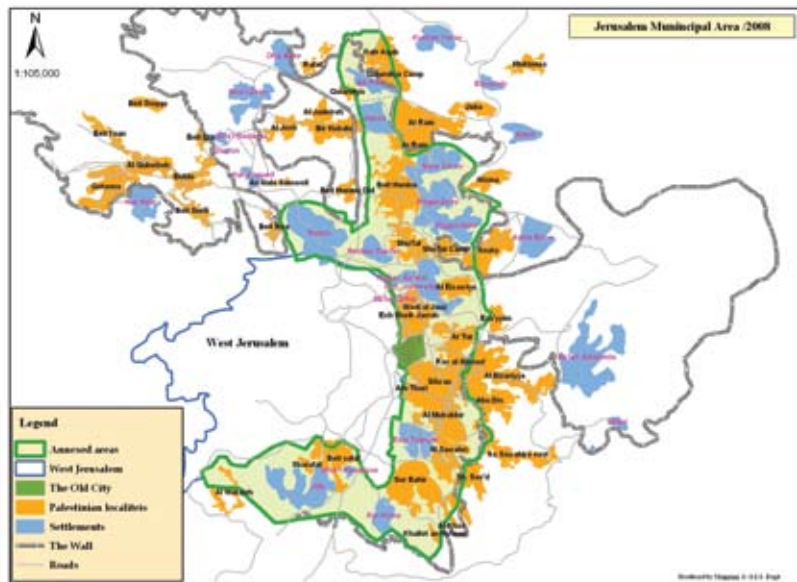


fig.01 Map of East Jerusalem after 1967 – Israeli Municipal Boundary<sup>13</sup>

the local community. Official urban planning policy in Jerusalem is no exception. A first glance at the Jerusalem municipality local master plan 2000<sup>14</sup> 'green zone' map (see map, fig. 02), seems to show the 'green areas' allocated equally throughout the city, with a larger quantity forming a 'green belt' in the urban fringes. However, looking more carefully at the eastern Palestinian areas, the 'green space' is much closer to the built-up area, embracing it in a finger-like pattern, while on the western Israeli side, the 'green space' is much further away from built-up areas. To a large extent, the 'green space' on the western Jewish side comprises the 'Jerusalem Forest' and several urban parks. In contrast, the 'green space' on the eastern Palestinian side comprises mostly neglected open space or 'illegal housing' built on 'green' land. This is a major incongruity in Jerusalem's planning policy. Contrary to other cities, what is labelled 'green' in East Jerusalem is not what would be termed "positive zoned land" out of social or environmental interests.

As noted above, the term 'green' land is used in the municipalities' and ministry of interior's zoning plans. It is discursively justified as 'open space' meant to benefit the local population, to protect land from being built on, and to be kept for use in future development. In practice, as the zoning reveals, it is used, on the one hand, to hinder Palestinian development and, on the other, to be available for further Jewish expansion. This can be judged from the 'green' lands used for Jewish neighbourhood expansion, while Palestinian development of green areas has been close to nil.

Furthermore, lands classified as 'green' and 'under planning' are mostly located near or around the Jewish settlements / neighbourhoods within the municipal boundaries. Past experience shows that such lands are considered as reserve lands for current or future use by the settlements / neighbourhoods. For example, in 1991 the Israeli District Planning and Building Committee changed the zoning status of the Palestinian neighbourhood Shua'fat and some of the lands that had been zoned in 1985 as 'green' lands were re-zoned and made available to the nearby Jewish settlement / neighbourhood of Rekhes Shlomo for construction of houses.



fig.02 Jerusalem Municipality Master Plan 2000's "Green Zone" Map  
The light gray areas on the map are zoned as green in the Jerusalem masterplan 2000.

Another example concerns the Arab land of Jabal Abu Ghneim (now known as Har Homa) where, in 1969, a major portion was declared a forest ('green') area. In 1991, Israeli finance minister Yitzhak Modai permitted private citizens (Israeli Jews) to purchase lots in this area, and then in 1996, the Israeli authorities re-zoned it as residential. The area was renamed Har Homa (Barrier Mountain) – 1,800 dunams of Um Tuba Arab land, mainly open fields used by Palestinian villagers for agriculture, had been confiscated and used by Israel to build this new settlement. Ownership is frequently passed through inheritance with no authorised documents, making it easy for the Israeli government to devour the lands with minimal legal difficulty. It is obvious that, given the current political climate in Israel, any request to allocate parts of these lands to Arab housing would be categorically turned down.

The shortage of land for constructing Palestinian houses has critically affected the housing density of the Palestinian population. According to the 2002 *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*,<sup>16</sup> the Arab population represented 32% of the total Jerusalem population and lived in only 18% of Jerusalem's housing stock. The 2006 *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*<sup>17</sup> indicated that the average of rooms per person for Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem was 0.71, compared to 1.9 rooms per person for Jewish residents. Also in 2006, 37.6% of Palestinian households had 6 to 11+ persons, while only 8.1% of Jewish households had the same numbers; the average number of persons per household among the Arabs was 4.9 compared to 3.1 in Jewish neighbourhoods. Moreover, 23.1% of Palestinian households lived in housing density conditions of more than 3 persons per room, while only 1.6% of Jewish residents had that level of housing density. Furthermore, while 19% of Jewish households lived in housing units in which housing density was one person per room, only 8.8% of Palestinian residents were in the same category of one person per one room.

The facts and figures in Table 01 clearly demonstrate the critical and stressful lack of available land for construction of Arab houses within

the enlarged municipal boundaries and the urgent need for individuals and communities to find a solution to this crisis. In the absence of an organised and institutional solution to meet this exigency, and faced with urgent housing requirements, individual Arabs have been pushed to construct their houses in areas zoned as 'green' or 'for future planning', without proper licences and at the risk of having their houses demolished by the authorities.

It should be noted that a new Israeli master plan for Jerusalem (Jerusalem 2000<sup>19</sup>) is now currently under review at the regional planning committee. This is the first time that a plan for the entire city is close to approval. However, according to documents published by the Israeli NGO Bimkom – Planners for Planning Rights,<sup>20</sup> as a whole, the new plan perpetuates the current discrimination against the Palestinian population of Jerusalem. The overall goal of the plan regarding the Palestinian population is based on preserving a demographic balance of 60% Jewish population and 40% Arab population, rather than on the real needs of the Palestinian population. This goal has dictated the number of dwelling units allocated for the Palestinians in Jerusalem. Officially, the demographic goal is to be achieved by attracting Jewish population to the city and diminishing the emigration of Jewish population out of the city. However, unofficially, it is done through limiting the development of Arab housing by various means. In the new plan, over 750 existing 'illegal' houses, many of them adjacent to the built-up area, continue to be zoned as 'green' and are at risk of demolition.

### What Can Be Done?

The recommendations below build on a series of site visits conducted in East Jerusalem over a period of ten months during 2008. The core urban planning team consisted of six experts with several others invited to take part in different meetings and visits. A GIS survey of ownership patterns in East Jerusalem was analysed in detail to obtain a clearer understanding

Table 01<sup>18</sup> Size (in dunams) and classification of lands in the areas of 'Jerusalem municipal boundaries'

Name of Locality	Land of locality	Land annexed	Status of annexed land				
	Total	Total	Confiscated	Green*	Built-up area	Under* planning	Remaining empty
Abu Dis	15,861	950	–	–	362	877	0
Al Eisawiya <sup>1</sup>	10,399	2,334	432	1,051	719	111	132
Al Ram	5,765	255	58	–	27	67	130
Anata	31,084	815	–	334	259	186	50
Assawahreh W. <sup>2</sup>	1,796	1,796	58	–	970	1,262	0
At Tur <sup>3</sup>	8,830	2,469	43	935	1,369	25	120
Beit Haninah <sup>1</sup>	16,407	11,999	3,976	1,292	2,847	1,552	2,240
Beit Ikse	9,151	1,876	1,339	–	–	523	14
Beit Safafa & Sharafat <sup>1</sup>	5,005	4,519 (+486 annexed in 1948)	1,083	229	1,075	1,354	1,130
Beit Sahur	13,108	3,459	1,447	–	124	2,440	0
Hizma	10,238	4,524	2,334	–	112	702	1,480
Kufr A'qab	5,488	1,376	30	–	895	471	0
Lifta <sup>1</sup>	11,993	5,801	4,173	–	–	–	0
Old City <sup>1</sup>	871	904.7	116	30	758	–	0
E. Jerusalem <sup>1</sup>	3,282	3,282	1,644	422	1,658	341	0
Qalandiya <sup>1</sup>	4,486	3,407	1,000	39	334	872	350
Rafat	3,768	319	–	319	280	–	0
Shu'fat <sup>1</sup>	5,274	5,274	1,929	1,132	1,718	173	400
Silwan <sup>1</sup>	6,113	5,927 (+186 annexed in 1948)	691	631	4,820	2,500	0
Sur Baher & Um Toba <sup>1</sup>	10,137	7,396	1,823	–	2,570	3,529	3,000
Al Birah	23,012	420	–	–	212	342	0
Beit Jala	14,630	3,255	945	–	–	2,310	0
Al Walajeh	17,708	3,118	236	–	290	1,978	614
Al Malha <sup>1</sup>	6,828	863	242	621	–	–	0
Total		71,055	23,599	6,669	21,399	22,806	9,660

(1) Localities are totally inside the enlarged 'Jerusalem municipal boundaries'. The rest are outside the boundaries but some of their lands have been annexed. (2) Only the western village was annexed to the municipal boundaries. (3) The village is located west of the 1948 borders but some of its lands are east of the border. \* Partially overlapping with built-up areas.

of possible opportunities to plan for future Palestinian housing and local community infrastructure. Meetings were held with community leaders and activists and several civil society organisations from East Jerusalem. It was clear from the visits and meetings that the planning conditions were becoming worse as time passed and urgent action was desperately needed to change the current conditions. As a result of the meetings and field research, a set of policy recommendations was put forward aiming to shift the current conditions and facilitate change.

### **Policy recommendations**

In the current interim period, until a final status resolution is achieved for Jerusalem, the Urban Planning Working Group of the Jerusalem Policy Forum recommends the following immediate steps:

- (1) Creation of a Planning Aid Council to facilitate community-based re-zoning: to assist Palestinian communities in Jerusalem in designing urban plans that more accurately meet their current and development needs to assist in incorporating these plans into the official urban planning system.
- (2) Change in Israeli planning and building policy in Jerusalem: to facilitate the licensing of new housing construction in Palestinian neighbourhoods under existing plans to discontinue the use of housing demolitions in East Jerusalem as a tool for limiting Palestinian development, rather than as a tool for preserving public safety.

### **Action recommendation I. Community-based re-zoning**

Until the day when an overall master plan for East Jerusalem that takes into consideration the real needs of the Arab population is approved, one of the ways to ease the suffocation of the Palestinian East Jerusalemite neighbourhoods, in terms of meeting the needs of the new generation to build their homes, is by re-zoning Arab lands currently zoned as 'green'

and 'under planning'. Although, on first look, this idea may be perceived as negating the overall Israeli political aim, the various Israeli government and local authorities are fully aware of the Arab housing exigency and the urgent need to provide the Arab neighbourhoods with additional lands for constructing the needed houses.

A review of the areas zoned as 'green' indicates that they could be classified into three sub-categories:

- (1) 'green' lands around and within areas of Arab neighbourhoods (1,998 dunams)
- (2) 'green' lands with existing 'illegal' Arab dwellings (658 dunams)
- (3) 'green' lands around Jewish settlements/neighbourhoods (4,044 dunams).

The first category of 'green' lands amounts to 1,998 dunams out of a total of 6,700 dunams. The green lands that are already occupied by Arab dwellings (category 2) account for 658 dunams of the total, while the rest of the 'green' lands – 4,044 dunams – are located close to Jewish settlements/neighbourhoods. It is assumed that 'green' areas of the first two categories could be subject to claims for expanding the building zones of the Arab neighbourhoods within the enlarged municipal boundaries. As to the lands zoned for 'future planning', a map review shows that out of the total 22,000 dunams under this category, 8,758 dunams are within and around areas of Arab neighbourhoods. It is again assumed that a claim to expand the Arab neighbourhoods into these areas could be made. In recent years there have been such private initiatives, with some extent of success.

In addition to the severe housing shortage in East Jerusalem, there is also a severe shortage of public facilities. Therefore, and in accordance with the Israeli Planning and Building Law, plans submitted for re-zoning

of areas for housing would include up to 40% for public uses – educational facilities, roads, parks, etc.

The ‘green space’ allocation in East Jerusalem can be regarded as a zoning mechanism for excluding and containing one population while used as an opportunity for future development of the other by the Jewish administration. As aforementioned, ‘green’ areas are universally seen as a positive mechanism preserving open space in city planning and are zoned accordingly. However, in the case of Jerusalem as we have seen, it has a rather different meaning hidden under the positive notion of ‘green’.

In order to create a new ‘balance’ in Jerusalem’s urban planning policy there is a need to establish a shift in the local discourse. Rather than using ‘green’ land to contain and prohibit further Palestinian development, it should be employed as a positive zoning mechanism, catering for the urgent needs of good quality open spaces, parks and housing benefiting the local population and enabling a clear vision for the Palestinians future in East Jerusalem.

### **Action recommendation II. Planning Aid Council**

In order to facilitate such community-based re-zoning, it is recommended to form a Planning Aid Council of professionals (planners, architects, engineers, surveyors and lawyers) as well as community leaders that will assist with planning and development for the benefit of East Jerusalem’s Arab residents. The primary task of the Planning Aid Council would be to select the areas deemed feasible for re-zoning, and to help the residents submit the necessary statutory plans to the planning commissions for approval.

The immediate goals and mission of such a Council would be to:

(1) assist Palestinian communities in developing professional zoning plans in order to allow bottom-up needs-based zoning and development (on selected parcels of land) in East Jerusalem

(2) provide the planning assistance in order to develop new housing and public infrastructure on selected land parcels

(3) document the process and publish a manual to assist with future development projects.

In the longer term, such a Council could serve to tackle issues that will need to be resolved in the context of planning for final status in Jerusalem including:

(1) a master plan for East Jerusalem – the Council could draft and publish a master plan for East Jerusalem that will provide for the current and development needs of the Arab population

(2) Palestinian planning administration for East Jerusalem – the Council could provide the professional basis for such an administration

(3) a land registry – currently, large tracts of land in East Jerusalem remain unsurveyed and/or their ownership is disputed, hindering proper planning and development. The Council could provide the professional basis for building a valid land registry for these lands.

Once the Council has been established, its first mission would be the collection of relevant data in order to enable communities in the prioritisation and selection of land parcels to be developed and following that, the submittal of the first pilot project to the planning committees. It should be noted that the estimated time period necessary for preparation and approval of such a plan is 2–3 years.

### **Action recommendation III. Community engagement strategy**

Community engagement in the planning process is a key element of the suggested strategy. Several benefits exist from involving the local community



in a planning process. Local people can bring additional resources that are often essential if their needs and interests are to be met and some of their dreams fulfilled. Moreover, local inhabitants are invariably the best source of knowledge and wisdom about their surroundings. Involvement allows proposals to be tested and refined before adoption, resulting in better use of resources, and builds confidence and ability to co-operate.

In the context of East Jerusalem, there is a need for the Arab residents to gain trust in the possibility to create a better living environment and to understand all available planning options. Actively taking part in achieving this can start a more positive rather than negative process and avoid time-wasting conflicts. Engaging East Jerusalem's local residents in planning new residential areas can serve as an empowering resource-building capacity for future planning projects involving community participation.

### Conclusion and epilogue

Born and raised in Jerusalem, my experience of the city's development and my everyday familiarity with its spaces and places over the years has given me an intimate perspective on the tensions among daily practices in a 'divided' city. Following Lefebvre<sup>21</sup>, analysis of space as a socio-political product and his categorisation of three spatial types; perceived space, relating to physical space and the way it is organised, conceived space containing the functional uses of space including the built environment and conceived space relating to the different ways professionals such as scholars, architects and planners represent space. The one-sided production of the three Lefebvrian spatial types raises a critical voice of resistance against the overall 'production of space' and the ways planning policy and development is used and manipulated in Jerusalem.

There is an urgent need to move towards the use of urban planning to foster genuine resolutions in Jerusalem. Following Scott Bollens<sup>22</sup> assertion, arguing urban policymaking should not wait for the larger peace process

but can be a powerful tool in local conflict management and a facilitator of more profound political agreements. In this sense, urban planning should be viewed as a distinct and essential instrument in reaching better co-operation in the absence of national overarching solutions. However this requires a major shift from the dominant one-sided Israeli planning policy to an equitable localised and shared planning dimension. In the current turbulent conditions in the Middle East, such a shift seems evermore remote. There is a need to move from one-sided planning objectives to actual planning implementation that encourages transformation benefiting all the city's residents prior to any long-awaited overall resolution.

A Planning Aid Council for East Jerusalem is currently in the making. One of the key elements for its success is that it will be staffed gradually by Palestinians. The only time Israelis will be engaged is when having to work and negotiate with the Israeli authorities. Such a model will grant full autonomy to the Council and still keep the benefits of working together to change the Israeli authority's policies and decisions.

Returning to Jerusalem from several years of study and work in London, my involvement in the JPF project has equipped me with new understanding. My conclusion is in brief: in today's veracity in Jerusalem, civil society has no alternative but to set the agenda. We have a choice to let reality dictate current events or to create new paths changing the current reality. This short text attempts to offer a snapshot of those choosing the latter option in a place where policy and politics have lost the true meaning of 'living together in difference'.<sup>23</sup>

\* Special thanks to the Peace and Democracy Forum and Ir Amim for their permission to use parts of the Urban Planning Group Report in this publication.

1. M. Dumper, *The Politics of Jerusalem Since 1967* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1997); A.S. Bollens, *On Narrow Ground: Urban Policy and Ethnic Conflict in Jerusalem and Belfast* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000).
2. H. Yacobi, 'Whose Order, Whose Planning?', in H. Yacobi (eds) *Constructing a sense of place – architecture and the zionist discourse* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004).
3. O. Yiftachel and H. Yacobi, 'Planning a bi-national capitol: should Jerusalem remain united?', *Geoforum*, 33, 2002, pp. 137–145.
4. M. Margalit, *Discrimination in the Heart of the Holy City* (Jerusalem: The International Peace and Cooperation Center, 2006).
5. *ibid.*, Margalit (2006).
6. For examples see, Bimkom Planners for Planning Rights and Ir Amim, 'Making Bricks Without Straw: The Jerusalem Municipality's New Planning Policy for East Jerusalem' (Jerusalem: Bimkom Planners for Planning Rights and Ir Amim, 2010), [http://www.iramim.org.il/Eng/\\_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/NewPlanningPolicyFinalEnglish%281%29.pdf](http://www.iramim.org.il/Eng/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/NewPlanningPolicyFinalEnglish%281%29.pdf); *ibid.*, Bollens (2000) and *ibid.*, Yiftachel and Yacobi (2002).
7. M. Benvenisti, A. Hochstein and W. Ury, *The Jerusalem Question – Problems, Procedures and Options* (Jerusalem: The West Bank Data Base Project, 1985).
8. *ibid.*, Benvenisti *et al* (1985).
9. The Jerusalem Policy Form and Ir Amim, 'Toward Resolving the Planning Disparity in Jerusalem' (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Policy Form and Ir Amim, 2009).
10. *ibid.*, Jerusalem Policy Form and Ir Amim (2009).
11. *ibid.*, Jerusalem Policy Form and Ir Amim (2009).
12. For further reading see: *ibid.*, Margalit (2006).
13. Map Source: Arab Studies Society, Mapping & GIS Department, Jerusalem, 2008.
14. Jerusalem Municipality Planning Department, 'Jerusalem Masterplan 2000' (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Municipality, 2004).
15. Jerusalem Municipality Planning Department, 'Jerusalem Masterplan 2000 – Annex 3 Open Spaces & Tourism' (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Municipality, 2009).
16. Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Municipality and Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2002).
17. Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Municipality and Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2006).
18. Table Source: Arab Studies Society, Mapping & GIS Department, Jerusalem, 2008.
19. *ibid.*, Jerusalem Municipality Planning Department (2004).
20. Bimkom, 'Jerusalem Masterplan 2000 – Policy Statement' (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Bimkom Planners for Planning Rights, 2006).
21. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).
22. *ibid.*, Bollens (2000).
23. I.M. Young, *Justice and the politics of difference* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990).

# The Story of Mr. Spiegelhalter

*Urban farming/production as a generator of identity*

MAX HACKE

This is a true story. In 1911, August Spiegelhalter, a watchmaker by family tradition dating back to 1828, comes from Germany to East London. Mr Spiegelhalter migrates with his family in the hope of finding new opportunities and starting a new life. A small house at No. 81 Mile End Road becomes the new home for the family as well as premises for his watchmaking business.

In the 1920s, Mr Wickham, a prominent businessman, enters the story. He wants to build a huge department store, the "Harrods of the East", right where Mr Spiegelhalter is living and working, and has been living and working for more than 10 years. Mr Wickham makes generous offers to Mr Spiegelhalter to buy his property. But Mr Spiegelhalter refuses to sell. Mr Wickham, confident in his plans, begins to buy one property after the other along Mile End Road. Expecting Mr Spiegelhalter to sell at some point, he starts destroying the buildings on either side of the watchmaker's home and business premises. He buys all the materials to build the new store and employs an architect to design it. There will be a fine facade to show off the glory of the Wickham Department Store.